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MARYLAND

COLONIZATION JOURNAL.

CONDUCTED BY JAMES HALL, GENERAL AGENT OF THE MARYLAND STATE COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

New Series.

BALTIMORE, JULY, 1847.

Vol. 4.—No. 1.

“Nothing is more clearly written in the Book of Destiny, than the Emancipation of the Blacks; and it is equally certain that the two races will never live in a state of equal freedom under the same government, so insurmountable are the barriers which nature, habit and opinion have established between them.”

JEFFERSON.

ADVICES FROM CAPE PALMAS BY THE LIBERIA PACKET.

WE have to apologise to our readers, and also to Gov. Russwurm, for the late appearance of his important despatches per the Packet, and we tender a statement of facts as the best apology; viz: they were in the possession of the President when our April No. went to press, and we *forgot* them when preparing the two subsequent Nos. Fortunately, however, they are of a general character, worth as much now as before, and will well repay the perusal.

Our Colony.—You have already been advised of the extension of our limits to the River Pedro, between Tahou and Drouen. Thus far the Union seems to work pretty well, and only two cases have come to our notice, where our influence was sought for and exerted. In the first, the Tabou river people robbed some Cape Palmas and Rocktown boys, who landed there from sea and refused to give up the spoils, alleging that their boys had been served in the same manner by our Cape people some years ago. “Retaliation, said they, was the custom of the country:” against this, I could only remind them of the bad effects it would have on their trade with us, and the recent treaty, they had signed. In the second, I was more successful. The Rocktowns caught four of the Grand Tabous, for the preceding palaver, under the impression that they were partakers of the spoil, and held them prisoners: one female, they fastened with a chain around her leg during the nights. When assured by me, through a special messenger, that they were not concerned, but strove all they could with the real robbers to give up the spoils; they immediately sent them to me, and I had the pleasure of forwarding them to their country. Words cannot portray the gratitude of the poor creatures, they would have kissed my feet—they could hardly be convinced that they were in safety in Cape P. native town. This was highly gratifying, as King Geo. Macauly of Grand Tabou had written to me, begging my influence to have his people released. The return of the captives excited quite a stir through the Tabou country, and the head King (a very aged person whom I did not see only by representatives at the grand palaver) has sent his thanks, and word also to King Freeman, that one of the 3 towns concerned was willing and ready to pay the “thief palaver.” “We might depend on his making the other two towns also pay.” The palaver is in a fair train of being settled.

Our influence with all the tribes is increasing, and if I desired it, I might almost dictate in their palavers; but this would be going to needless trouble and expense; and unless requested, never interfere. The long standing palaver between Grahway and Cavally is finally set, and the former have rebuilt their big town, which was burned down in the war. They still view each other (native fashion) with a deal of jealousy, and very little would open the palaver anew.

The Saureekahs (King Cava's people) have been fined during the year for their treatment to colonists in the employ of the Methodist mission. From Mr. Burns' statement in the "Luminary," one would be led to believe, that the colonists were the sole cause of the palaver. *Such is not the fact.* Towards the close of 1845, the big town (Saureekah) people raised a palaver with J. B. Dennis, then employed by M. E. mission as teacher, and proceeded to beat him and ill treat his family. Upon the special request of Rev. Mr. Herring, we interfered and levied a fine upon them. This fine they paid and the station remained vacant till 1846, when the party, before spoken of, were sent out to repair and erect new buildings, and a *second* palaver happened. This fine we levied (without any request except from the colonists) and they have paid it also; proving that in both instances, they were the aggressors. Since old King Cava's decease, no one has been chosen to fill his place, till lately, by my persuasion, Quih of Geliboh, one of the chief men of the country—highly friendly to the colony, has been elected and installed King. We now hope for better times, as all palavers arose from the want of a regular King over the country.

We have heard of two attempts being made by the Pahs to reach the colony, but the jealousy of the intermediate tribes is too great ever to allow them to pass without fighting their way. There are several tribes, and if they could only unite, they would soon reach Cape Palmas, much to our gratification. This fighting they must do, if they wish direct intercourse with us. We have done our part by penetrating to their country, amidst difficulties innumerable, of which a person in the United States can have but little idea.

Our Free Schools.—The two schools supported by you, have done well during the year, and been well attended, all things considered. The average attendance at F. School No. 1 is 25½, at the girls school 19. We feel sadly our disappointment on losing Mrs. Thomson, but as the Episcopal mission have kindly opened a free school for colonists girls under her, we shall not be so much the losers in the end.

I am of the opinion that parents generally, begin to feel it important to give their children a good education. One family in the Bush, make it a point to send theirs neatly clad, regularly to school, and really the good example set by them cannot be lauded too highly. I allude to Thomas Gross and wife. While on this, I beg to inform you, that we stand in need of Gaulladet's and Hooker's Spelling Book, a common school apparatus, like those in use in New York Free Schools, and a pair of globes. We have never received either, and I am to blame for not bringing the matter forward before. In a free community like Cape Palmas, every thing will depend upon the solid education which our children and youth shall receive in our free schools. If another Franklin or Bowditch is to appear, he must receive the rudiments of his education in our free schools, and enjoy in his boyhood and youth more advantage than poor B. Banneker. Travel through New England, and every mile or two, the good man's heart is gladdened with the sight of the district school-house: and what is the result? They are more intelligent than any other upon the earth. May

we not expect the same results if we follow closely in the same path here in Africa?

The time, I think, has arrived when we should have a small *printing press* in the colony. Are there not benevolent individuals enough at the North to give one to the colony? Our laws and ordinances need to be printed, for many can read print, who cannot writing. Every man ought to have a copy in his house. We are much in need of more *Codes*, as the 25 sent out have been distributed years ago, and those owning them, will hardly let them go out of their houses. Those in want are now willing to pay for their copies. Please to send me 25 more.

It would not be amiss to send me out more currency, as with the increase of busines, the general cry is the want of currency. For it I sell goods as cheap as I do to the natives for camwood on credit. I want bills of \$1, 50 cents, and 25 cents only. I have not forgotten your request to have my views upon the circulation of better paper money, based on some capital in the colony.

I cannot close without thanking the Board for sending out the brass piece, the spinning-wheels and cards, and the turning-lathe. Cloth is made in Africa, and it must be made at Cape Palmas, and worn too. Many of the sawyers have requested me to send for whip-saws and files. I hope one dozen at least will be sent in the next packet, as they really need them.

Accompanying you will receive the semi-annual accounts up to June 30, 1846.

2. Copies of deeds from native Kings to Leeward.
3. Proceedings of the Agent and Council during 1846.
4. Copy of Proclamation on annexation of native tribes.

I shall take special care to have a general report of the condition of the colony made up as early as possible, such as the Board want. The resolution of the Board as regards the salaries of the colonial physician and the assistant physician, has been communicated to each. Dr. Fletcher's salary is fixed at five hundred dollars.

I have received no resolutions of the Board, releasing me from the office of Chief Judge of the Court of Quarter Sessions, as I had reason to expect.

I have the honor to remain, your obedient servant,

JNO. B. RUSSWURM, *A. Md. S. C. S.*

[COPY.]

PROCLAMATION.

Whereas, the native Kings GEORGE of Bassa, GEORGE MACAULEY of Grand Tabou, CRAH of Tabou River, the true and lawful Kings of the Tabou country and headmen.—Whereas, King NIMLEE and Governor YELLOW WILL of Bassa, the true and lawful King and Governor of the Bassa country and headmen.—Whereas, Kings DARBO and TOM of Grand Berriby, the true and lawful Kings of the Grand Berriby country and headmen.—Whereas, King GEORGE of Tahou, the true and lawful King of the Tahou country and headmen, have, by formal deeds of cession, to the MARYLAND STATE COLONIZATION SOCIETY, executed at Bassa, on the 23d and 24th days of February, A. D. 1846, annexed themselves, subjects and territories to this Commonwealth, and become a part thereof:—it is hereby enjoined on all the citizens of this Colony, to honor the said Kings and headmen of the aforesaid countries, with all due respect, as the true and lawful rulers thereof—to receive the subjects of said Kings, as citizens of our common country, and not as strangers; and, further, it is enjoined on all

magistrates and civil officers, to have justice fairly meted out to them in all palavers; and that they have free passage through our common country, without hindrance.

Given under hand and seal at Government House, Harper, Cape Palmas, this third day of March A. D. one thousand eight hundred and forty-six.

JOHN B. RUSSWURM, *Governor.*

DR. ALEXANDER ON COLONIZATION—CONTINUED.

The long delayed Annual Report of the President of the Maryland State Colonization Society, published in our June No. excluded a continuance of our extracts from the above work; but we again take up the thread of the narrative, commencing with the fourth chapter, which is headed "A HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY." It will be remembered, that the author claimed for Dr. Hopkins the first conception and promulgation of a plan of acting upon Africa through the agency of her own returning children. We say *acting*, without regard to the terms regenerating, revolutionizing, civilizing, christianizing, or colonizing the people of that continent, we view the work as one, or as necessary consequences of transporting civilized or even semi-civilized men to her shores—the greater in number, the more diversified their callings and vocations, the better. But in the chapter under present consideration, the palm of projecting the legitimate colonization scheme, is yielded to Dr. Thornton of Washington City, in manner as follows:

"As well as can be ascertained by a diligent research, the first man who ever seriously contemplated sending a colony to Africa, was Dr. Thornton, a native of Virginia, but at the time when he conceived this plan, a resident of the city of Washington, where he is still remembered, as at the same time a man of many eccentricities, arising from a vivid genius, and a real philanthropist. Dr. Thornton not only formed a plan of African colonization, but actually attempted its execution, intending to become himself the leader of the colony. Therefore, in the year 1787, he published an "Address" to the free people of colour in Rhode Island and Massachusetts, inviting them to accompany him to the western coast of Africa, with the view of planting a colony in the land of their forefathers. Although Dr. Hopkins's plan preceded this many years, yet his was rather a missionary, than a colonization scheme; although, as we have seen, it probably suggested the first idea of the colony at Sierra Leone. But Dr. Thornton was undoubtedly the first who conceived, and attempted to carry into effect, a plan for a colony of free coloured people on the western coast of Africa. The enterprise, as might have been expected, fell through for want of funds to carry it into effect. But it is pleasant to know, that this benevolent and enterprising man lived to see the Colonization Society formed, and in successful operation; to which he gave his cordial approbation, and was one of its first managers."

The author then goes on to notice various plans of emigration or colonization, all more or less connected with the subject of emancipation, at that time freely agitated in the State of Virginia, by such men as Jefferson, W. Craighead, and Judge Tucker, all men of the highest moral and political standing. What a comment this upon the effects of modern abolitionism.

In 1800 the following resolution passed the House of Delegates of Virginia.

“Resolved, That the Governor be requested to correspond with the President of the United States on the subject of purchasing lands without the limits of this State, whither persons obnoxious to the laws or dangerous to the peace of society may be removed.”

This resolution in itself, appears to be foreign to the subject of the free negroes, emancipation or African colonization, but in the long correspondence which follows between Governor Monroe and President Jefferson, its objects become more fully developed. Rebellions and insurrections were not unfrequently threatened at that time and always much apprehended, and it was very desirable, in a mild, quiet way, to get rid of those, on whom suspicion only, rested. How much of philanthropy was connected with the measure by those projecting it, we are unable to say, but Gov. Monroe and Mr. Jefferson both manifest the strongest disposition to improve the condition of the free people of colour and to promote manumission. When more definite information was demanded by those gentlemen as to the character of the people intended to be removed, the following resolutions were passed by the House of Delegates, designating more clearly the class of criminals for which foreign territory was desired. The second of them, it will be seen, points out another class, not yet criminals, for whom another region is desired, but it will be noted, *without sovereignty*, for which reservation, we think our Liberia friends would hardly thank Virginia legislators.

“Resolved, That as the resolution was not intended to embrace offenders for ordinary crimes, to which the laws have been found equal, but only those for conspiracy, insurgency, treason, and rebellion, among those particular persons who produced the alarm in this State in the fall of 1800, the Governor be requested, in carrying the said resolution into effect upon the construction here given, to request the President of the United States, in procuring the lands, to prefer the continent of Africa, or any of the Spanish or Portuguese settlements in South America.

“Resolved, also, that the Governor be requested to correspond with the President of the United States, for the purpose of obtaining a place without the limits of the same, to which free negroes or mulattoes, and such negroes or mulattoes as may be emancipated, may be sent or choose to remove as a place of asylum; and that it is not the wish of the Legislature to obtain, on behalf of those who may remove or be sent thither, the sovereignty of such place.”

But the great obstacle in the way of accomplishing the object of the resolutions, was the selection and obtaining of territory. No one unobjectionable corner of this western world presented itself, and probably, this was one of the causes which knocked the whole scheme in the head; although we cannot forbear *guessing*, that the opening of a market for slave labour about this time in the extreme southern portion of our Union had something to do with the removal of “obnoxious persons,” much more to the satisfaction of the individual holders of this species of property, than *buying* a place for them. It is very interesting and instructive, however, to review the various speculations of those interested in this matter, as to the most suitable place. Mr. Jefferson, in his “Notes on Virginia,” suggests the removal of the free people of colour and manumitted slaves to “that vast region of country, north-west of Ohio, belonging to the State of Virginia;”

now the thickly populated States of Indiana and Illinois. He also after the cession of Louisiana, suggests that country as a fit asylum for this class, and in 1805 the Virginia Legislature passed the following resolution :

“*Resolved*, That the Senators of this State in the Congress of the United States be instructed, and the Representatives be requested, to exert their best efforts for the purpose of obtaining from the General Government a competent portion of territory, in the country of Louisiana, to be appropriated to the residence of such people of colour as have been or shall be emancipated in Virginia, or may hereafter become dangerous to the public safety : *Provided*, That no contract or arrangement respecting such territory shall be obligatory on this Commonwealth until ratified by the Legislature.”

We cannot but think how snug and safe the free coloured people would be there, at this period. Hayti, then just emerging from the blood and dust of the Revolution, was suggested, but finally rejected as being in too unsettled a state. The other W. I. Islands and the Spanish Possessions in South America were also proposed, and in their turn all found objectionable. Fortunate indeed, is it, for the people of colour and for Africa, that none of the proposed plans were put into execution. What would have been the result of any of these measures, we cannot pretend to say, but certainly some would have been attended with the most direful calamities. Can any one imagine the fate of one or two thousand free persons of colour settled by themselves in the heart or even on the extreme borders of Louisiana?—Or *how free* would the same number have been at this time, planted in Ohio or Indiana; the treatment to the Randolph slaves is the best answer.—In 1811, Mr. Jefferson appears to have entertained more judicious ideas upon the subject, induced no doubt, by the rapid extension of white settlements in the west and south-west, and we copy his letter in this connection upon the subject of colonization on the west coast of Africa.

“To render our history complete, it is proper to mention here, that Ann Mifflin, no doubt of the Society of Friends, had conceived the plan of a colony on the western coast of Africa, and through a Mr. Lynd, applied to Mr. Jefferson for his opinion, respecting the practicability of such an enterprise. Mr. Jefferson’s answer is interesting, and contains several important items of information, no where else to be found. The letter is as follows.

“MONTICELLO, January 21, 1811.

“SIR: You have asked my opinion on the proposition of Ann Mifflin, to take measures for procuring on the coast of Africa an establishment to which the people of colour of these States might, from time to time, be colonized, under the auspices of different governments. Having long ago made up my mind on this subject, I have no hesitation in saying that I have ever thought *that the most desirable measure which could be adopted* for gradually drawing off this part of our population—most advantageous for themselves as well as for us. Going from a country possessing all the useful arts, they might be the means of transplanting them among the inhabitants of Africa; and would thus carry back to the country of their origin the seeds of civilization, which might render their sojournment here a blessing in the end to that country.

“I received, in the *last* year of my entering into the administration of the general government, a letter from the Governor of Virginia, consulting me, at the request of the Legislature of the State, on the means of procuring some such asylum, to which these people might be occasionally sent. I proposed to him the establishment of Sierra Leone, in which a private com-

pany in England had already colonized a number of negroes, and particularly the fugitives from these States during the revolutionary war; and at the same time suggested, if that could not be obtained, some of the Portuguese possessions in South America as most desirable.

"The subsequent Legislature approving these ideas, I wrote the ensuing year (1802) to Mr. King, our minister in London, to endeavour to negotiate with the Sierra Leone company, and induce them to receive such of these people as might be colonized thither. He opened a correspondence with Mr. W—— and Mr. Thornton, secretary of the company, on the subject; and, in 1803, I received, through Mr. King, the result; which was that the colony was going on in but a languishing condition; that the funds of the company were likely to fail, as they received no return of profit to keep them up; that they were then in treaty with the government to take the establishment off their hands; but that in no event should they be willing to receive more of these people from the United States, as it was that portion of settlers who had gone from the United States, who, by their idleness and turbulence, had kept the settlement in constant danger of dissolution, which could not have been prevented, but for the aid of the Maroon negroes from the West Indies, who were more industrious and orderly than the others, and supported the authority of the government and its laws.

"I think I learned afterwards that the British government had taken the colony into their own hands, and I believe it still exists.

"The effort which I made with Portugal, to obtain an establishment from them, within their colonies in South America, proved also abortive.

"You inquired, further, "whether I would use my endeavours to procure such an establishment, secure against violence from other powers, and particularly the French." *Certainly, I shall be willing to do any thing I can to give it effect and safety.*

"But I am but a private individual, and could only use endeavours with individuals; whereas *the National Government* can address themselves at once to those of Europe, to obtain the desired security, and will unquestionably be ready to exert its influence with those nations to effect an object so benevolent in itself, and so important to a great portion of its constituents; indeed, *nothing is more to be wished than that the United States would themselves undertake to make such an establishment on the coast of Africa.*

"Exclusive of motives of humanity, the commercial advantages to be derived from it might defray *all its expenses*; but for this the national mind is not prepared. It may, perhaps, be doubted whether many of these people would voluntarily consent to such an exchange of situation, and but few of those who are advanced to a certain age in habits of slavery would be capable of governing themselves. This should not, however, discourage the experiment, nor the early trial of it. And propositions should be made, with all the prudent caution and attention requisite to reconcile it to the interest, the safety, and prejudice of all parties.

"Accept the assurance of my respect and esteem,

THOMAS JEFFERSON."

We wish our author had given us more information of this Ann Mifflin and of the details of her plan, which no doubt could have been obtained with the letter of Mr. Jefferson. We are glad, however, to learn, that the scheme of African colonization has a mother, in addition to its many fathers, and only to regret that it has experienced such comparatively poor nursing.

From the time of the writing of the foregoing letter in regard to the projected scheme by Ann Mifflin, the author gives no record of events con-

nected with the subject until the spring of 1816, when the Hon. Charles Fenton Mercer, then a member of the House of Delegates of Virginia, first gets information in regard to the resolutions of that body, (heretofore inserted,) passed in secret session, consults the records and makes the same public, during the succeeding summer in several of the northern states, and at the commencement of the next session of the House of Delegates, in Dec. 1816, introduces others of a similar character, only specifying "territory on the coast of Africa, or some other place" out of the jurisdiction of the United States.

The Rev. Dr. Finley, of Princeton, New Jersey, is also introduced as having written the following letter upon the subject as early as Feb. 1815:

"DEAR SIR,—The longer I live to see the wretchedness of men, the more I admire the virtue of those who desire, and with patience labour, to execute plans for the relief of the wretched. On this subject the state of the *free blacks* has very much occupied my mind. Their number increases greatly, and their wretchedness, as appears to me. Every thing connected with their condition, including their colour, is against them. Nor is there much prospect that their state can ever be greatly meliorated while they shall continue among us. Could not the rich and benevolent devise means to form a colony on some part of the coast of Africa, similar to that of Sierra Leone, which might gradually induce many free blacks to go and settle, devising for them the means of getting there, and protection and support until they were established? Could they be sent back to Africa a threefold benefit would arise. We should be clear of them—we should send to Africa a population partly civilized and christianized, for its benefit—and our blacks themselves would be put in a better situation. Think much on this subject, and then write me when you have leisure."

He also addressed a meeting principally of the Faculty and Students of the Theological Seminary at Princeton, upon the subject, assisted by the author of this history, but no date given. Francis S. Key and Elias B. Caldwell are also represented as being active in the matter during the summer of 1816. But which of these gentlemen actually proposed and brought about the meeting which ended in forming the American Colonization Society, we are not definitely informed, although the author, in opening the subject in the fifth chapter introduces Dr. Finley as "having matured his plan and proceeding to Washington," to put it in operation; which we copy.

"Dr. Finley, having matured his plan for colonizing the free people of colour on the western coast of Africa, proceeded to the City of Washington, when Congress was in session, and having consulted with his friends, particularly with Elias B. Caldwell and Francis S. Key, Esqs., who entered with all their heart into his scheme, it was thought expedient to call a public meeting, and particularly to invite some of the most distinguished men then in Washington to attend. Accordingly, on the 21st day of December, 1816, the Hon. Henry Clay was called to the chair, and Mr. Thomas Dougherty acted as Secretary."

On taking the chair Mr. Clay stated briefly the objects of the meeting, viz: of forming a society for promoting the emigration of free colored people to some point on the west coast of Africa; at the same time deprecating any meddling or interference with the subject of slavery, and bespeak-

ing moderation, deference and politeness towards each other in the discussion which might ensue. After Mr. Clay had concluded, Mr. Caldwell made an address, which even at this late period is well worthy of a perusal.

"As soon as Mr. Clay had ended his address, Elias B. Caldwell, Esq. rose and spoke as follows:

"I feel peculiar embarrassment in obtruding myself upon the notice of so large and respectable a meeting, in which I find some of the most distinguished characters of our country. I ask your indulgence in offering to the consideration of the meeting the resolutions which I hold in my hand, and to a few explanatory observations. The objects of the meeting have been feelingly and correctly stated by the honourable chairman. The subject seems to be divided into—

"1st. The expediency; and 2dly, the practicability of the proposed plan.

"The expediency of colonizing the free people of colour in the United States, may be considered in reference to its influence on our civil institutions, on the morals and habits of the people, and on the future happiness of the free people of colour. It has been a subject of unceasing regret and anxious solicitude among many of our best patriots and wisest statesmen, from the first establishment of our independence, that this class of people should remain a monument of reproach to those sacred principles of civil liberty which constitute the foundations of all our constitutions. We say in the Declaration of Independence, "that all men are created equal," and have certain "unalienable rights." Yet it is considered impossible, consistently with the safety of the State, and it is certainly impossible with the present feelings towards these people, that they can ever be placed upon this equality, or admitted to the enjoyment of these "inalienable rights" while they remain mixed with us. Some persons may declaim and call it prejudice. No matter. Prejudice is as powerful a motive, and will as certainly exclude them as the soundest reason. Others may say they are free enough. If this is a matter of opinion, let them judge—if of reason, let it be decided by our repeated and solemn declarations in all our public acts. This state of society unquestionably tends, in various ways, to injure the morals and destroy the habits of industry among our people. This will be acknowledged by every person who has paid any attention to the subject, and it seems to be so generally admitted that it would promote the happiness of the people, and the interest of the people, to provide a place where these people might be settled by themselves, that it is unnecessary to dwell on this branch of the subject.

"As to the blacks, it is manifest that their interest and happiness would be promoted by collecting them together where they would enjoy equal rights and privileges with those around them. A state of degradation is necessarily a state of unhappiness. It debases the mind, it damps the energies of the soul, and represses every vigorous effort towards moral or intellectual greatness. How can you expect from them any thing great or noble without the motives to stimulate, or the rewards to crown great and noble achievements? It not only prevents their climbing the steep and rugged paths of fame, but it prevents the enjoyment of the true happiness of calm contentment, satisfied with enjoying but a part of what we possess, of using only a portion of what is in our power. Take away, however, the portion that is not used, and it immediately becomes the object of our fondest desires. The more you endeavour to improve the condition of these people, the more you cultivate their minds, (unless by religious instruction,) the more miserable you make them in their present state. You give them a higher relish for those privileges which they can never attain,

and turn what we intend for a blessing into a curse. No, if they must remain in their present situation, keep them in the lowest state of degradation and ignorance. The nearer you bring them to the condition of brutes, the better chance do you give them of possessing their apathy. Surely, Americans ought to be the last people on earth to advocate such slavish doctrines, to cry peace and contentment to those who are deprived of the privileges of civil liberty. They who have so largely partaken of its blessings, who know so well how to estimate its value, ought to be the foremost to extend it to others.

"I will consider the practicability of colonization under three heads: the territory—the expense—and the probability of obtaining their consent.

"1. The territory. Various plans have been mentioned by different persons. A situation within our own territory would certainly possess some considerable advantage. It would be more immediately under the eye and control of our own government. But there are some real and some apprehended evils to encounter. Many apprehend that they might hereafter join the Indians, or the nations bordering on our frontiers in case of war, if they were placed so near us—that the colony would become the asylum of fugitives and runaway slaves. Added to these difficulties there are inveterate prejudices against such a plan in so large a portion of the country, which would be impossible to overcome or remove. Upon mature reflection, with all the light that has yet been shed upon the subject, I believe it will be found that Africa will be liable to the fewest objections. A territory might, no doubt, be procured there; the climate is best adapted to their constitutions, and they could live cheaper. But, Mr. Chairman, I have a greater and nobler object in view in desiring them to be placed in Africa. It is the belief that through them civilization and the Christian religion would be introduced into that benighted quarter of the world. It is the hope of redeeming many millions of people from the lowest state of superstition and ignorance, and restoring them to the knowledge and worship of the true God. Great and powerful as are the other motives to this measure, (and I acknowledge them to be of sufficient magnitude to attract the attention and to call forth the united efforts of this nation,) in my opinion, and you will find it the opinion of a large class of the community, all other motives are small and trifling compared with the hope of spreading among them the knowledge of the gospel. From the importance of this view of the subject, permit me to enlarge a little upon it. Whatever may be the difference of opinion among the different denominations of Christians, I believe they will all be found to unite in the belief that the Scriptures predict a time when the gospel of Jesus Christ shall be spread over every part of the world; shall be acknowledged by every nation, and perhaps shall influence every heart. The opinion is, perhaps, as general, that this glorious and happy day is near at hand. The great movements and mighty efforts in the moral and religious world seem to indicate some great design of Providence on the eve of accomplishment. The unexampled and astonishing success attending the various and numerous plans which have been devised and which are now in operation in different parts of the world, and the union and harmony with which Christians of different denominations unite in promoting these plans, clearly indicate a divine hand in their direction. Nay, sir, the subject on which we are now deliberating has been brought to public view nearly at the same time in different parts of our country. In New Jersey, New York, Indiana, Tennessee, Virginia, and perhaps other places not known to me, the public attention seems to have been awakened as from a slumber to this subject. The belief that I have mentioned, leads Christians to look with anxious solicitude and joyful hope to every movement which they believe to be instrumental in accomplishing

the great designs of Providence. They will receive your proposal with joy, and support it with zeal; and permit me to say, that it will be of no small consequence to gain the zealous support and co-operation of this portion of the community.

"On the subject of expense I should hope there would not be much difference of opinion. All are interested, though some portions of the community are more immediately so than others. We should consider that what affects a part of our country is interesting to the whole. Besides, it is a great national object, and ought to be supported by a national purse. And, as has been justly observed by the honourable gentleman in the chair, there ought to be a national atonement for the wrongs and injuries which Africa has suffered. For although the State Legislatures commenced early after our independence to put a stop to the slave trade, and the National Government interfered as soon as the constitution would permit, yet as a nation, we cannot rid ourselves entirely from the guilt and disgrace attending that iniquitous traffic, until we, as a nation, have made every reparation in our power. If, however, more funds are wanting than is thought expedient to appropriate out of the public treasury, the liberality and humanity of our citizens will not suffer it to fail for want of pecuniary aid. I should be sorry, however, to see our government dividing any part of the glory and honour which cannot fail of attending the accomplishment of a work so great, so interesting, and which will tend so much to diffuse the blessings of civil liberty, and promote the happiness of man.

"Among the objections which have been made, I must confess that I am most surprised at one which seems to be prevalent, to wit, that these people will be unwilling to be colonized. What, sir, are they not men? Will they not be actuated by the same motives of interest and ambition which influence other men? Or, will they prefer remaining in a hopeless state of degradation for themselves and their children, to the prospect of the full enjoyment of their civil rights and a state of equality? What brought our ancestors to these shores? They had no friendly hand to lead them, no powerful human arm to protect them. They left the land of their nativity, the sepulchres of their fathers, the comforts of civilized society, and all the endearments of friends and relatives, and early associations, to traverse the ocean, to clear the forests, to encounter all the hardships of a new settlement, and to brave the dangers of the tomahawk and scalping knife. How many were destroyed! Sometimes whole settlements cut off by disease and hunger, by the treachery and cruelty of the savages; yet were they not discouraged. What is it impels many Europeans daily to seek our shores, and to sell themselves for the prime of their life to defray the expenses of their passages? It is that ruling, imperious desire, planted in the breast of every man, the desire of liberty, of standing upon an equality with his fellow men. If we were to add to these motives the offer of land, and to aid in the expense of emigration and of first settling, they cannot be so blind to their own interest, so devoid of every generous and noble feeling, as to hesitate about accepting of the offer. It is not a matter of speculation and opinion only. It has been satisfactorily ascertained that numbers will gladly accept of the invitation. And when once the colony is formed, and flourishing, all other obstacles will be easily removed. It is for us to make the experiment and the offer; we shall then, and not till then, have discharged our duty. It is a plan in which all interests, all classes and descriptions of people may unite, in which all discordant feelings may be lost in those of humanity, in promoting 'peace on earth and good will to men.'"

Mr. Randolph, of Roanoke, followed Mr. Caldwell, recommending the scheme to his southern friends on the ground that by removing the free, the

slaves would be more easily retained, be more industrious and useful, and the interests of the slaveholders thereby greatly promoted; felicitating himself that he had brought forward an argument that would otherwise have been lost sight of. Happy would it have been for colonization and the coloured man, if Mr. Randolph and his followers had held their peace.— This incorrect view of the case has done more, towards retarding colonization, than all other adverse causes put together. On this very argument, has been based all the violent opposition of the abolitionists, and it is the lever, with which they have moved the whole coloured people of the country to repudiate and condemn the scheme. What man of a spirit, fit to form an integrant part of a community of freemen, would remove to Africa, if by so doing, he assisted to perpetuate the slavery of his own brother? Thank God the people are beginning to see the fallacy of this argument, they begin to see that whatever improves the moral and intellectual condition of *one* man of colour tends to elevate the whole race. The colony of Liberia has, more than any other and all other events of the past century, or of centuries, raised the coloured man in the scale of existence and demonstrated his just claim to the full stature of manhood.

The remainder of the fifth chapter of this work is filled with the proceedings of adjourned meetings, the Constitution and By-Laws of the American Colonization Society, memorial to Congress, and the Report of the Committee to which the memorial was referred.

RANK IN THE ARMY—OR, A DARKEY'S DIGNITY.—After a portion of the troops had landed on the beach near Vera Cruz, on the night of the 9th of March, a body of the enemy commenced a brisk fire of small-arms into the encampment. Of course, all hands was on the *qui vive*, expecting the Mexicans would make some demonstration upon our lines during the night, and when the firing commenced, concluded there was about to be a general attack. The lines were soon formed and not a word could be heard from the soldiery, but there was a negro who kept running from one little point of hill to another, apparently in a state of great excitement. He finally laid himself flat on his face, at full-length, and commenced working himself into the soft sand with a good deal of energy. On being asked what was he about? he replied, "I is 'fraid some of dem 'ere copper balls will put a stop to me drawin' my rashuns." "Why," asked the party speaking to him, "don't you get up and fight them?" "No, sir-ee!" he said, "dat's my massa's part ob de bizness? he done been to Wes-pint, where dey makes fightin' people to learn dat, and you don't ketch dis nigger meeddlin' hessef wid odder people's bizness. My massa does de fightin' an' I wats on him, and nusses him. If he gets wounded we gets promoted." You get promoted! What good will his promotion do you!" inquired the individual. "Oh, dat question is been settled long time ago in dese parts down here; a colored gemmen what waits on a kurnel always outranks one dat waits on a capten, an' de way we colored gemmen reg'lurs makes dese volunteer niggers squat, is a caution to white folks."—*New Orleans Delta*.

We insert the above in answer to the sneers of some of our coloured friends at the titles conferred on coloured men in Liberia. Every one to his taste.

THE BALTIMORE CONFERENCE ON COLONIZATION.

The committee to whom was referred the communication of Rev. C. A. Davis, agent of the American Colonization Society, for the state of Virginia, beg leave to submit the following report:

1st. Resolved, By the Baltimore Annual Conference, in conference assembled, that we highly approve of the objects of the American Colonization Society; that we will aid in furthering its interests by taking up collections where convenient, on or about the 4th of July, in aid of its funds, and that we will afford all convenient facilities to its authorized agents who may come among us in the prosecution of their work.

And whereas, the managers of the Maryland Colonization Society, have solicited the services of the Rev. Wm. Evans, as an agent for said State, therefore—

2nd. Resolved, That the superintendent be respectfully requested to appoint him to said agency.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

JOHN DAVIS,
R. CADDEN,
JNO. BOWEN.

True extract from the journals of the Baltimore Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

S. A. ROSZEL, *Sec'y of Balto. An. Con.*

CIRCULAR OF MR. LATROBE TO THE BISHOPS OF THE PROTESTANT
EPISCOPAL CHURCH, IN THE UNITED STATES.

RT. REVEREND SIR.

BALTIMORE, *January, 10th, 1847.*

The purpose of this communication will, I trust be received as an apology for the liberty I take in addressing you.

The Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States, as you are no doubt aware, has a mission in the Colony of Maryland in Liberia, at Cape Palmas, on the West Coast of Africa.

In establishing it, the Church manifested the interest which it felt in promoting the spread of the Gospel on that Continent, and its willingness to avail itself of such aid as might, incidentally, be afforded by the colonies there of coloured people from this country. Having been connected with Colonization for five and twenty years, for the last twenty of which I have taken an active part in all that related to it in Maryland, and being an episcopalian myself, it is only natural that I should regard with much solicitude this effort of the church: Hence it is, that I venture to make to you the suggestions herein contained.

In the opinion of many, whose connection with colonization has afforded opportunities of obtaining information, and whose interest in foreign missions has made them careful inquirers, the true missionary for Africa is the colored one. White men may build a mission house and organize native schools; they may reduce the native speech into a written language, and preach to the heathen in their mother tongue; and they may live long enough, even in Africa, to make their mark upon her children: but the active and efficient labor, which is to bring the countless tribes of Africa to the foot of the cross; must be the labor of the coloured man—the civilized, educated, intelligent and converted coloured man.

There are many reasons why this should be so: A prominent one, which makes it almost unnecessary to refer to any other, is to be found in the unfriendliness of the climate to white life. It is true that there are white

men now living as missionaries at Cape Palmas, in latitude 4 north: but they are living among the graves of those whom the climate has destroyed: and valuable and useful in their vocation as these, the survivors; may be, there is, perhaps, not one of them who will not admit that an under-current, peculiar to Africa, is slowly but certainly sapping the foundations of his existence, while at the same time his ability for mental exertion is correspondingly impaired.

It is unnecessary to refer to statistics to prove what is here stated. This particular field of missionary labor has always been looked upon as one, wherein the laborers are few, not because it is not "white already to harvest," but because none but martyrs can be relied upon to reap it. If any, with opportunities of forming an opinion, think otherwise, it can only be those pious and devoted men, who, engrossed in their work, feel not the wasting of sickness, and are regardless of life itself, in view of the fruition that is before them.

Instead, therefore, of recruiting the ranks of the mission in Africa from among the junior members of the ministry in America, it is most respectfully suggested that the church's attention might be profitably turned to the preparation of coloured men as missionaries. The experience of the colonies has satisfactorily shown, that, with ordinary care, the coloured emigrant from the United States incurs but little risk in removing to Liberia. All emigrants undergo an acclimating sickness, which, in the early periods of the colony, when the accommodations for new-comers were bad, when there was little or no experience of tropical disease, and when but scant care could be bestowed upon the sick—often proved fatal.—Now, however, this disease is looked upon as being quite as much under the control of medical treatment as are the intermittent fevers of the middle States of this country; and it is an admitted fact, that the health of the colonist, after he has passed through it, is better than that of individuals of the same class in the United States. On the score of health, therefore, there can be no doubt as to the superior qualifications of coloured men as missionaries.

Colonization proceeds upon the assumption that the coloured man, when placed beyond the influences which here depress him, is capable of the highest mental achievements:—Such has certainly been my own experience, extending now through a quarter of a century. The condition of the colonies on the coast, that of the American Colonization Society, at Monrovia, and that belonging to the Society, of which I am President, at Cape Palmas,—both of which are governed by coloured men exclusively, afford sufficient proof of it. I am well aware that the contrary has been said by persons who claim the advantage of African experience; and I have heard missionaries from Liberia doubt the fact. But the misfortune of colonization has been, that many of those who went as missionaries to Africa, expected to find there more than was within the range of possibility: and forgetting, that the materials, out of which the organized communities, that protected the missions, had been formed, had been either emancipated slaves, or poor uneducated free negroes; overlooking the fact, that these colonies had never known a serious reverse, while the colonies of educated and brave men who first landed in America, were again and again destroyed by the savage and by famine: not considering, apparently, that such results in Africa, with such elements, could only have been obtained through the especial favour of the great Giver of all good; they, the individuals alluded to, have been disappointed and dissatisfied, because, they saw that want was not entirely banished, that idleness and vice sometimes appeared, and that there were those who still turned wistful eyes to the homes that they had left. This is mentioned with no purpose of underrating the white missionary in Africa;

and it is referred to, at all, only that you may understand, Reverend Sir, the views entertained among those who, undiscouraged and confident of the great result, still labor as colonizationists.

But mental competency and greater constitutional adaption to the climate of Africa, are not the only recommendations of coloured missionaries. The white missionary, when he lands in Africa, finds himself among coloured men and women from the United States: and no matter from what quarter of the Union he comes, from the North or from the South, no matter how meek and humble a christian man he may be, the feeling peculiar to America, when the two races come in contact, will exhibit itself. In America the white man is the superior. In Africa it is the reverse. In America, a place at the table of a governor is deemed an honour by many whites: it is beyond the aspirations even of a coloured man. In Africa, it is not every white man that the coloured governor admits to his hospitalities. To say that in this change, the coloured man never exhibits arrogance, is not intended; nor is it alleged as a charge against the missionary, that he finds himself irked in these new relations. It is intended merely to state a fact; out of which mediately or immediately, it is firmly believed, grew all the difficulties, now happily at an end, which once affected the intercourse of the Colonization Societies and the religious bodies in this country interested in African missions.

The last remarks would not, of course, apply to missions remote from colonies on the coast: but as our church has hitherto established none such, they apply to the existing state of things. It is firmly believed by most of the colonizationists, that Africa is yet to be brought to "stretch out her hands unto God" through the agency of her returning children: and it is held, that the missionary whom the white man sends there should belong to these children's stock; one who would find no prejudice on either side to overcome, as, while he taught the heathen, he helped to qualify the colonists to fulfil the great object for which their servitude, and that of their fathers, in America had been permitted. If the gold and silver of the Egyptians were borne off at the Exodus of Israel, the greater treasures of our Holy Religion and the blessings of its attendant civilization will accompany that Exodus from amongst us of the children of Africa, which is as certain, in the end, as that one day followeth another.

But it may be asked, admitting all this to be true, where are the coloured missionaries, fit for the labor and willing to perform it, to be obtained? The answer is, there are few, if any now qualified. They must be prepared. They must be educated. The church must take the matter in hand and prepare and educate them: and it is the object of this letter, Reverend Sir, to invoke your aid, so that in your own diocese, or in consultation with the other Bishops of the Church, something may be done for the preparation of coloured missionaries for Africa. With regard to the manner and means of effecting the object, I would venture to suggest, that the institutions already in existence in the church, for the education of candidates for the ministry, might, perhaps, be profitably employed in this respect: and that a portion of the fund, raised annually for missionary purposes, might be advantageously devoted to the support of the individuals selected to be educated.

In Maryland in Liberia, our physicians have been prepared in this country; both of them, having at different times obtained diplomas at the Medical School of Dartmouth College. At first, we attempted to educate free coloured persons from our cities: but we found that they preferred remaining in the United States after they had become qualified to emigrate; and thus time and money were both lost. We then brought intelligent young men from the colonies, who had lived there from their infancy.

Such were Doctors McGill and Fletcher.—With such we had no difficulty. They looked upon their residence in America as a penance, from which they were glad to escape, by returning to the country, where freedom was to them a reality and not a name. A similar plan could be pursued in regard to the preparation of missionaries, and, it is hardly doubted, with the same good results.

The views here expressed have been hitherto presented in the Annual Reports of the Maryland State Colonization Society, addressed to all christian denominations: but as these reports are of limited circulation, and may not have met your eye, I have thus, not officially, but as an individual interested in the subject, brought the matter to your notice,

And remain, with very great respect, your most obedient servant,

JOHN H. B. LATROBE.

OUR NEXT EXPEDITION.

The Liberia Packet will sail on her second voyage to Cape Palmas on the 1st of September, and we take this opportunity of notifying those, who are desirous of sending out any of their people, to give us early advice thereof, stating particularly, their number, character, age, &c., &c. We shall be ready to give any information that may be desired as to their passage, outfit, disposition when arriving in the colony, etc.

We would now make another appeal to those of our colored friends who enjoy the *partial* freedom of this land. Have you no aspirations after that perfection of liberty enjoyed and so highly prized by the white man,—are you content that year after year shall glide away, the vigor of youth pass into the steadiness of mature years, and that fade away into the decrepitude of old age, and yet no prospect, no, not the most remote, of a change for the better in behalf of your race appear, and yet be satisfied with your lot in this land; and shall your children also, sprightly, endowed with intellect, blessed with enterprise, grow up under the blighting influence that has crushed your hopes; will you, can you stay where this is the inevitable result. Shall the inviting, the imploring voice of Africa, calling her children to freedom and prosperity, continue longer to be unheeded; will not the colored men of this land make the experiment of rearing and conducting a great Republic. You have it now in your power. It is for you to determine whether you will embrace the opportunity or not.

TERMS.

This Journal is published Monthly, and is furnished to Subscribers at \$1 per year, whether sent by mail or otherwise. All profits arising from its publication are applied to advance the general purposes of the society.

☞ All Communications intended for the Maryland Colonization Journal, or on business of the Society, should be addressed to Dr. JAMES HALL, General Agent, Colonization Rooms, Post Office Building.

Printed by John D. Toy, corner of St. Paul and Market streets, Baltimore.

